2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

The governor had, sometimes, a very formal installation. At Archie, the former governor, if still living, handed him the staff of office, with a formal speech of admonition. Then each of the elders, in turn admonished him: "You will have a hard time. The people will not agree with you. But we have chosen you as one who will do right" (40). Most northern villages seem to have had the same ceremony but in Mesquite Root and Cowlic the badge of office was not a staff but a rawhide whip. A whipping post was set up in front of the governor's house and he was expected to chastise offenders. This is an institution not found in the north nor among the Pima. Out of harmony with the usual Papago practice whose only punishment is public disapproval, it points to a Spanish tradition. Church records mention whipping as the regular punishment for Indian neophytes around a church settlement and the missionaries were sometimes accused by laymen of choosing the most cruel of the Indians as governors in order to maintain discipline.[1]

But, however the governor was installed, his appointment was not ratified until he had journeyed to Hermosillo, the Sonoran capital to "get his power." How ancient this practice is, there is no means of telling, for Papago makes no distinction between Spaniard an Mexican and knows nothing of Mexico's war of independence. Orozco y Berra mentions it in 1848 as a long established practice[2] and the Papago informants confirm it.

In 1854 the Americans came into power and their representative[3] summoned all the existing chiefs to be informed of the change of government. The San Xavier calendar stick has a long record of the occurrence.[4] They met at San Xavier and those present were: Many Skirts, for Archie; the Gambler, for Mesquite Root; Green Mesquite, for Kaka; At-the-Base-of-the-Sunset, for Anegam and Gold Ears, for Tecalote. All these were confirmed in office and Archie was given the hegemony. From this date, the succession of chiefs is known and their authority very much enhanced.

These appointments cover only five main villages whereas there were already eleven. The custodian of the calendar stick says that several of the five considered themselves overlords over two or three villages. Thus the Archie jurisdiction included Santa Rosa, Komarik and Akchin and Kaka included Kupk and Hikiwanyi. There were

[1] Cancio, quoted in Bancroft V, 1, 571.
[2] Orozco y Berra, p. 346.
[3] Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, Vol. II, p. 544.
[4] Underhill, 1938, p. 25.

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622 175 613 small federations existing and indicating, perhaps, that the leading village had been the parent of the others. But the whole of Papaguería was never federated except in theory. The American idea of government demanded that there should be one head chief for all the Papago and Archie claimed the position. "But Gold Ears of Tecalote never had anything to do with the Archie chief.. His village was not related and so he ruled by himself" (40). This indicates how little weight the head chieftainship had with the Papago. After the death of Many Skirts, Con Quien of Mesquite Root wished to be considered the head chief and was so spoken of by some of the White settlers but "the people did not follow him."

622 With the recent forming of daughter villages, several new governorships have arisen, each subsidiary to the rule of its mother village. Standing Rock was colonized from Mesquite Root and regarded that town as its superior until it was abandoned; the colonists turned to Archie, related to Mesquite Root. Tobacco Mountain in the Archie valley had no chief until one of its leading residents was constituted chief, out of hand, by the representative of the United States government (2), but he also is considered subordinate to Archie. Finally he took two or three other settlements under his wing. One of them, San Isidro, now feels itself large enough to have a chief of its own and has picked a man who will be submitted to Archie for approval. When Imikah, near Hikiwanyi, was settled, the Indian agent again asked one of the residents to act as chief but the chief of Hikiwanyi considers him a subordinate and countermands his orders when he disagrees. The system by which the governor of the main village is the superior of those in the daughter villages must be a firmly entrenched one since it holds good, even against the prestige of American appointments.

The governor can be deposed if he is "not good for the people." According to the governor of San Pedro, the elders meet in his absence and make the decision, then one of them calls on him privately and invites him to "take a rest. Some one else will do the work."

622 623 The governor, in spite of a growing importance, is supposedly subject to the will of the council. This fact was used when the famous Hunter claim came before the supreme court in 1910. The governor of Santa Rosa had signed a deed giving half the land of the village to a certain Hunter in payment for legal services. The court ruled on the evidence that no one man was entitled to sign for the whole village and the governor had no such power.

622 The office of governor, starting perhaps from the informal leadership of "him who talked the most" has come to be the pivot of present day Papago organization. The White authorities who are